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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated--moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for

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his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance *&* interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play

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upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Morriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegelóya, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

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alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

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7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

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8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

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9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

Northern Paiute NRB

N 175 177 648 668 W [668] 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians).

The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases.

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo.